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intermarry with the village of Nasangalau in every generation. Apparently the clan of Matailakemba are forming a similar connection with Mbau. The late High Chief initiated a similar connection with the clan of Tanggalevu; he, his son, and his granddaughter married into that clan. Relationships thus become intricate, one person being related to another in many ways.

Kinship involves much etiquette. The following excellent account of etiquette between relatives was given to me by Vola, great-grandson of the Third Lord of Naiau:

Father and child. Our fathers are treated with respect (*vakarokorokotaki*) though not feared by their children. A child may not carry off anything that has been in contact with him, such as clothes, mats, cups, etc.; he may not use his father's plate, nor eat his leavings, nor tread upon the place where he sleeps. He may take other things. If the father is noble, the children get swellings (*fula*) if they do these things. Greater respect is shown to an uncle; uncle and nephew may not speak together; to father and son all things are allowed except to such as are noble. They may not eat out of the same plate as the father, but they may eat at the same time. Among the common people (*kaisi*) there are no observances: a son will walk anywhere.

Mother and child. Children make light of their mothers and respect their fathers. They may take the mother's clothes provided they are not used by the father and may eat the food she leaves.

Brother and sister. Brothers [or sisters] may take each other's property. My wife's younger sister may take our property; so may my younger brothers. Brothers may not jest in an unseemly manner. The younger may not take the property of the elder, though the custom is breaking down. The elder may take the property of the younger, but it depends upon him. If he is reserved, and is not familiar, they fear him; but if he takes their things recklessly and plays with them they have no respect for him. Brothers in the nobility do not chat, or talk with an appearance of cheerfulness; they will only talk with glances at one another. It is usual for the elder to address the younger first.

It is forbidden for brother and sister to speak together or use the same clothes. If our sister is in the house we may not enter it, unless it is a case of necessity. If a brother goes to drink kava he may enter, if it is a kava held on some occasion, not merely to pay a visit. If he enters he keeps at a distance from his sister. If he is in the same house with her he studies his speech, so that it take no unseemly turn. If he comes and sees his sister he goes out again. At the present day they may both be present at a meal, if the father and mother are there and he keeps at a distance; he eats quickly and goes out. This begins when he reaches the age of reason. If a boy is not circumcised he may sleep in his father and mother's house (*vale soso*); he does not as yet get a bachelor's house (*mbure*); after circumcision he has one. If he is circumcised late and has attained to reason he may not stay in the house with his sister. I do not know of a single case in which brother and sister have had connection.

Grandfather and grandchild. The relationship of grandfather and grandchild involves etiquette. If the grandfather has something good, such as planted food he gives it to his grandchild. If the grandfather is a noble his grandchildren may not eat with him. They may take anything belonging to their grandfather except, in the case of nobles, what has touched his body. The same applies to father and son who are not noble.

Grandmother and grandchild. If the grandmother is a lady (*marama*), it is exactly the same, that is if she ranks higher (*turanga*) than the rest of the family. If

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she is not a lady the children will be free with her: they will eat on her bed and so on.

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Uncle and nephew. In the relation of uncle and nephew impudence is forbidden; only the right of *vasu* [that is, seizing the uncle's property] is allowed. They use courtesies to one another (*veivakarokorokotaki*). Uncle and nephew may eat at the same time. Ratu Sukuna refused to dine with you on account of his uncle, Ratu Finau, being present, because they would have been too close to one another; but they may eat in Fijian fashion because they sit at a distance from one another. If one speaks the other takes no notice (*vakawelewele*); he looks down; they do not converse as they would at an European meal. The etiquette between aunt and niece, or between opposite sexes is the same.

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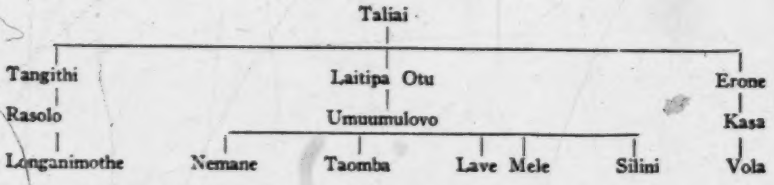
The remarks by Vola concerning cousins may perhaps be better understood by referring to the following extract from his pedigree:



Cousins may take each other's property and tell the other afterwards. They may take things for good. One says "I'll just take this thing;" and takes it; if he chooses to return it, good; if not, so. But now I am married to Lave, Nemane, Taomba, and Silini may not take, or even ask for any apparel worn by me; they can only take lanterns and so on; it is as if Lave and I were one body. Nemane may not t[illegible] with Lave; Nemane and I may still joke. Yavutha may be impudent and carry away objects, clothes, etc., because he is not Lave's own brother; he is father to her. Longanimothe may be impudent, but may not take clothes and such things, because he is Lave's brother through his father. If a man speaks his cousin may say, "It's a lie; it's a lie"; a younger brother may not. A cousin may take a whole field of taro without blowing the conch; only the sister's son blows the conch. There is no feast of putting on the loin cloth [which gives a nephew the right to seize his uncle's property]."

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Cousins of opposite sexes who are not man and wife may take each other's property without leave: thus Mele may take my things. They are impudent to one another. They may tell each other to do a thing; thus I will tell Mele to wash my clothes. They may not have sexual intercourse; it is bad for them to do so, especially if it is done under the cover of domestic relations [*vakavundei*, a term which applies also to bachelors living together], that is by giving her clothes to wash, and then profiting by it to have connection. It is better if they have connection, after having had no ordinary relations. It is worse if a man commits adultery with his brother's wife; it is not so serious if she is the wife of a stranger.

There is no prohibition between man and wife; no restrictions; the women prepare the food. I think formerly a noble would eat with his chief wife (*alewa mbau*), the others serving. The wife may or may not eat with her husband, he being noble or not, as she pleases.

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Observation confirms Vola's statement that there is no special etiquette towards the father and mother, unless they are noble; but if they are noble

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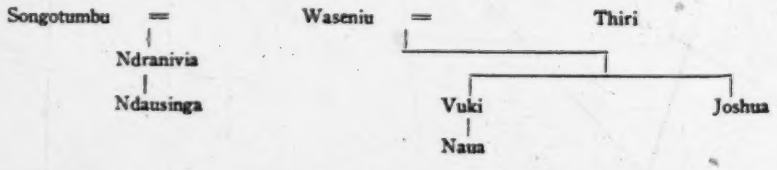
there is great reserve between them and their adult or adolescent children. The eldest son, aged about thirteen, of the High Chief always spoke of his father as Ratu, which may be translated The Noble Lord. Though I was constantly in the house of the leading nobleman I saw his son there only once, and that was when they were leaving for Tonga; and even then they took very little notice of one another. The only time I saw the same nobleman's wife at her son's house they exchanged no greeting and took no notice of one another.

This attitude it is which Vola describes as *vakawelewele* (careless, indifferent, not attending) and it is characteristic of those relationships that forbid familiarity. In marked contrast was the attitude of persons differently connected or not connected at all. People of far lower rank than a nobleman will chat freely with him though respectfully, and use his name with no honorary prefix such as Ratu or Roko.

A man ranks before his father's younger brother, yet he respects and obeys him. In the following pedigree Ndausinga is the son of a still older brother than Naua's father; according to Joshua, Ndausinga comes first; but it was also held that it was possible for Joshua to come first because he and Ndausinga's father had different mothers; on the other hand Naua's father and Joshua had the same mother, so Nana comes first.



A man formerly addressed his younger brother's son as *leikai* or *iyau*. The word *iyau* is also a formal expression (*vakatuturanga*) addressed by a man to his servants (*ona tamata*).

A grandchild is apt to be spoiled; it is a common sight to see him sidling up to the grandparents or sitting on their laps.

Seniority among brothers is expressed by saying that one is old, the other young (*ngone*) the common Fijian way of expressing the comparative.

The relations between brothers were best observed at Joshua's. Joshua would sit in the middle or towards the upper end of his house, facing the door at the lower end, talking in his usual decided way to any one but his brother, who would sit in a dark corner beside the door, presenting a three-quarter view to Joshua and appearing utterly indifferent to conversation, even about himself; he might be munching at the remnants of Joshua's meal. When addressed he would reply shortly without looking at his brother. Vuki, the eldest brother, was the head of the family preceding his death;

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593 Joshua then became the head. "There was not a *turanga*," I was told, "who could achieve as much as Joshua, on account of his brothers; they served him (*nggaravi koya*), and planted a great deal, and he controlled (*lewa*) their land, their crops."

Among the common people an elder brother has some authority. When I prepared to prosecute a man of lowest grade for larceny, his elder brother offered to refund the value of the article stolen; but later withdrew his offer because his younger brother refused to obey him.

[x4] A younger brother by the same mother and father is known as an "ear eater" (*kana i muri*) of the older. The term comes from the fact that a younger brother does not eat until the elder one has finished. Another term is "the basket carrier" (*i thola thola in kato*). A younger brother is also said to sit by the food basket or to look after the food basket because small people (*tamata lalai*) attend to the food which is usually hung up at the lower end of the house.

Great stress is always laid in genealogies and in historical narratives on the first born. The eldest son is called the *ulumatua*, old head. He is spoken of as "sacred blood" (*ndra tambu*). [565] A man is *kaisi* (low born) to his elder brother, and *turanga* (noble) to his younger brother. Leading nobles are *mana*, that is they cause supernatural effects, only to their juniors. When the High Chief's niece put round her neck a scarf belonging to her elder brother, her neck swelled because he is the elder and she is low in comparison. He was called in to stroke her neck in order to reduce the swelling. He stroked her with his hand, and the swelling ceased. Some use the foot to touch the swelling.

595 565 This tremendous predominance of the elder over the younger applies only to own brothers; it does not hold if they have different mothers. I was repeatedly told there was no precedence among the sons of different mothers, because nobles had so many wives that it was impossible to keep a reckoning of who came before whom. Yet stress was always laid on the first-born. The descendants of the first-born are treated with great respect. One evening I was having kava with Liwaki, the great-grandson of the second Lord of Naiau. Vola, great grandson of the third Lord of Naiau, who is "younger brother" to Liwaki, sat in a corner without joining in the conversation; I invited him to say something, but he remained silent. Liwaki took not the slightest notice of him. Vola afterwards explained that he remained silent in the presence of Liwaki or Salesi, grandson of the third Tui Naiau's eldest son, because:

> I am exceedingly glad, I may not talk in their presence; they are my elder brothers, and a younger brother only speaks if the elder addresses him; he does not mingle in the conversation. Among the low born the rule is not so strict, but if they choose to be respectful to their elder brothers they are. In the clan of Vatu

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wangga there is no precedence, because they have different mothers. The reason why I do not speak in Salesi's presence is that Salesi comes first in Vatuwangga, because Kilai, Salesi's father's father, was Taliai's eldest son. The reason why I may not speak to Liwaki is that he is a descendant of Malani, the eldest son of Rasolo. Liwaki may not speak to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, because Liwaki is the son of a younger brother. Yet Salesi may converse with Liwaki because they are brothers through their mothers.

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Thus the statement that there is no precedence in the clan must be qualified: there are certain persons whose birth makes them great within the clan. Thus the late Rasolo, the third Lord of Naiau's daughter's son, was reported to have been a strong-minded man, perhaps because he prided himself on his rank: his mother was the daughter of Taliai, older than all the children of Taliai except the eldest son. In jest I was set down as Melaia Lutu's son, and told on that account I might send on errands the son of Melaia's "little sister"—by European reckoning, a cousin. The rank and file of the descendants of Niumataiwalu, ancestor of the nobility, however, lived on terms of easy familiarity.

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The avoidance between own brothers seems to be connected in the minds of the people with the avoidance of brother and sister. The same avoidance as that between brother and sister is exercised between aunt and nephew, aunt and niece, uncle and niece, as between uncle and nephew, and between a man and his wife's mother, whether *veiwungoni* are uncle and nephew or father-in-law and son-in-law. Respect is paid to the father's sister if she is older than the father, but not if she is younger. A woman will use respectful language (*vaka rokoroko*) to her elder brother's son. I could hear of no special functions of the father's sister.

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According to Lakemban custom, a man does not use terms of respect to the mother's brother if the mother is the elder, whereas in Viti Levu the polite adverb *saka* is user regardless of precedence. The High Chief's elder sister's eldest son is greater than his uncle, because his mother is the elder sister, but he follows the Mbauan custom, not being acquainted with the Lauan; he uses the term *saka* and the second person plural in addressing his uncle; he generally sits at the lower end of the house while his uncle sits at the top. The Chief can speak to his nephew, but "it is difficult for his nephew to answer." They only could converse in private. The Chief on the other hand used the second person plural to his nephew, but not the word *saka*; he would keep away from the school grounds because his nephew was there. They never walked together, though indifferent as to which of them went first. Sometimes at kava the High Chief would pass on his cup to his nephew.

The mother's people are frequently referred to collectively as "your uncles" and a man would be told to "get a wife, as is fitting, from *your uncles*."

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587 which consisted of only a feast, no gifts, because it was a marriage of "old people," that is married before, not of "young ones."

595 In heathen times every nobleman had several wives; some small men who were energetic had two wives. A man would frequently marry two sisters. "If," says Melaia, "I live with a nobleman, Makareta, Repeka, or some other will come to be the drawer of water (*i thalo ni wai*). The reason is that they are sisters." If the wife died it was sometimes the custom to bring her sister to take her place.

342 574 A small feast called *su* (soup) is made by the wife's people when the house of a married couple is built. Thus for one couple it was done three times: when the house was first built; when the reed wall was replaced by a wooden one; when the thatch was replaced by corrugated iron. The wife's people also make *su* when both return from a journey abroad. One such feast consisted of yams, pudding, and fish. The feast is omitted if either goes abroad alone.

574 602 If no *su* is made it is evident the wife has no kinsfolk; so the wife's people make *su* often lest in a quarrel between her and her husband, he reproach her saying, "Go away; you have no kinfolk; no *su* has been made on your behalf."

587 611 Ndranivia, the High Chief, gave his wife Yalekula to a nobleman of Matailakemba when she was pregnant; the child was brought up in Matailakemba, but eventually went back to Naivi, his father's clan, and Narewandamu, his mother's.

684 Adultery and divorce are common. In the old days if a man committed adultery with a nobleman's wife he would sue for pardon. If a lowborn man were married to a nobleman's relative and she committed adultery, the lowborn man would complain to the nobleman, who had the adulterer clubbed unless he sued for pardon. If a man committed adultery, say, with a Waitambu man's wife, the husband would appeal to Tui Waitambu, or better still, to Tui Wathiwathi, who would club the guilty man. If a nobleman committed adultery he was exposed to revenge.

634 643 "Few high chiefs," says a nobleman, "were not killed. If one was kind to the people of the land he was not clubbed. Some were killed because they entered houses and took other people's wives. That is why our forefathers of Naivi were killed because they were handsome and fond of women." The two reasons why a chief was killed, according to one were "adultery and eating badly," that is eating the feasts brought without sharing them with the people.

593 It is not uncommon for wives to run away to their own people. If a woman marries into another clan, then runs away to her own clan, the hus-

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band will send a whale's tooth for her to return and her relatives will make a feast to send her back with; this feast is called the conveyance (*i kaukau*).

A woman becomes of the clan of her husband. Only women are transferred; men stay. In practice a woman works with her husband's clan, but upon being asked to what clan she belongs, she will name that in which she was born. On her husband's death a woman returns to her original clan. Sometimes a man goes to live in his wife's country. It is then said that "she brought him over."

The wife goes to the home of her parents to give birth to her children, and usually remains with them for a year or longer after a child is born. During this time she may not resume cohabitation with her husband. It is said that a Fijian woman will die if she is pregnant three times, each time before the previous child is strong. A Fijian widow whose wife has died in childbirth is looked upon askance. If a woman contracts the abdominal disease called *ndrami ni tangane*, which is caused by the husband cohabiting too soon after childbirth, and if she dies in consequence people will dissuade girls from marrying him.

Birth Ceremonial

A first child, called a new child (*ngone vou*) is the occasion for much more ceremony than attends the birth of subsequent children. There is no feast when conception first appears, but the mother stays in the house, for a number of months given variously as three, four, five, six, or eight; she does not cut her hair or bathe. She is taken care of during her pregnancy lest the foetus move and miscarry. This is done for the eldest child only. After eight months her people make an oven on the shore and she goes to fish. A feast called the bathing of the pregnant mother (*i silisili ni mbukctc*) is prepared, at which the fish she catches are roasted and served, called *i tatavu*. The people of Levuka called this feast "causing to appear" (*vakavotu*). The prospective mother then cuts her hair and throws it away, after which she may resume hard work.

A pregnant woman may not anoint another person's eyes with medicine as it causes soreness of the eyes.

Except for the child of the High Chief a man may be present at the birth, but usually only the father is. It is forbidden to announce the approach of travail in the village or the labor will be difficult. The after-birth is buried. The newborn child is bathed. The child is not again bathed until the fourth day.

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THE FAMILY

A small clan or a subclan is composed of one or more *vuvale* (families or households). A *vuvale* usually consists of one family including a man, his wife, their children, and other near relatives. The group usually owns a sleeping house, a kitchen hut, and an earth oven shelter. Some families also own a men's house, used by the father of the family when his wife is child bearing, and by the youths, unmarried men, and widowers of the group. As a rule the family functions as a unit in planting, gathering, preparing and eating its daily food.

Local Groups

THE CHIEFDOM

The chiefdom of Lakemba is composed of a group of minor chiefdoms (formerly called *mata ni tu*) held in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. Besides Lakemba and Naiau, the chiefdom consists of Kambara with its dependencies (Namuka and Komo) and its uninhabited possessions (Wangava, Marambo, and Tavunasithi); Mothe with its uninhabited possession (Karoni); Oneata; Fulanga with its dependency (Ongea), its uninhabited possessions (Yangasa cluster) and Ongea's uninhabited possession (Ongea Ndriki); Thithia; and Ono with its dependency (Vatoa) and uninhabited possessions (Tuvana-i-tholo and Tuvana-i-ra).

The chiefdom resulted from the unification and organization of society in southern Lau, which began with the arrival of the immigrants from Viti Levu and was strengthened and accelerated by Tongan and finally European influences (pp. 29-30). Rivalry grew up between the clans of the nobles. Intervillage and interisland warfare followed. The nobles protected themselves with fortresses (p. 104). Their war leaders (*tamata nganga*) were aided by their allies (*mbatchi*) until gradually the strong groups reduced the weak ones to dependency.

There were three grades of dependency between political groups: *mbatchi*, *nggali*, and *kai si*. Moto of Undu says that a *mbatchi* is a man who helps because of kinship, not because he is forced to do so. According to Wilkes (26, p. 59) the term *"mbatchi"* means ally, or under the protection of a power though not actually subject to it, and the term *"nggali"* means subject to a power and compelled to pay yearly tribute or obliged to satisfy the demands of the chiefs. According to Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 19) the *nggali* type of subjection includes a province or town subject or tributary to a chief town, and the *mbatchi* type includes provinces or towns not so directly subject, less oppressed, and less respected. In general the *mbatchi* includes those groups which were compelled to respond when the chief called for help in warfare; and the *nggali* includes conquered groups from whom the chief extracted

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chief of Tokalau. Undu village has a chief called Tui Undu. He is from the Valakevoro clan and receives a village offering of first fruits. The village of Muanaira has a chief from the Nggilo clan. 622

The title of chief of the ceremonial ground (*tui ra* or *tui rara*) is found on every island. It is held by a clan of the land group. Presentations of food to the chief and subsequent distributions to the people take place on the ceremonial ground. The duty of the chief of the ceremonial ground is to divide the food so that each clan receives its share, according to rank and size. 624

Clan titles, now obsolete, but formerly found on Kambara are chief headman (*sau turanga*), held by the Nanggara clan headman; master of war (*mbatchi ndau ni valu*), held by Matasoata or Valakevoro clans, Undu; food master (*mbatchi ni kakana*) held by Nawi of Lomatchi. 618

Rank within the Clan

Rank within the clan is regulated by the principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage. The direct descendant of the first-born (*ulu matua*) son of the originator of the clan holds the highest rank within the clan, and of subclans which comprise the clan his takes precedence by seniority. The elder of either sex takes precedence over the younger throughout the lineage in each generation. Rank within the clan is discussed on pages 58-64. 618 554

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP

Marriage

Formerly polygyny was practiced by high ranking men who could afford several wives, especially by the chiefs. Monogamy, however, was the rule among people of lower rank. Polyandry was unknown. Today, as a result of missionary influence, Lauan society is monogamous. 595 593 797

Cross-cousin marriage

A man preferably marries his *watchi* (cross cousin, his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter, real or classificatory), but not all marriages fall within the preferred type. Formerly it was not uncommon for a chief to take two sisters as wives or for a man to marry the sister of his deceased wife. It is not rare for a man to marry his brother's widow. 582

Clan exogamy is the rule and a study of interclan marriage based on clan pedigrees shows that there is a tendency for certain clans to intermarry. This tendency is strongest on Ongea and Fulanga and weakest on Kambara and Mothe. It is probable that cross-cousin marriage is also more frequently practiced on the two isolated southern islands of Ongea and Fulanga and least on Kambara and Mothe. The genealogies from the five islands visited are not sufficient to furnish conclusive data on this point. 582 618

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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601 15. Makumbu-: Grandchild. The converse of *tuka-* (13) and *tumbu-* (14). Great grandchild is designated as *makumbu- vakarua* (second grandchild), etc. Step-relatives are designated by the term *vakathambethambe*, i.e., *tama- vakathambethambe* (step-father); *tchina- vakathambethambe* (step-mother).

184 Informants say that kinship terms in southern Lau, in the Exploring Isles, and the Moala group differ slightly. It is reported that the Ton. an system of making no distinction between parallel and cross cousins of oppo ite sexes is found on Vanua Mbalavu.

Behavior between Relatives

cross cousins

605 *Veiwatchini* is a collective term for cross cousins of opposite sexes. All of a man's female cross cousins and all of a woman's male cross cousins are preferred mates designated by the term *watchi*. The term for spouse is also *watchi*. The Mbauan term, *ndavola*, is an alternate term for a cross cousin of the opposite sex. It is used in southern Lau to show respect.

605 521 522 A familiar relationship exists between *veiwatchini*. There are no tabus between them. They address one another by name and use the familiar second person singular pronoun, *ko iko*. They talk freely with one another, which means that they joke with one another about sex, for practically all conversation between non-tabu members of opposite sexes and much of the conversation between non-tabu members of the same sex, centers around sex. Jokes usually consist of obscene remarks. Such remarks are tabu between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

605 836 837 There is no tabu on sexual intercourse between cross cousins, and, in spite of the ideals of premarital chastity for girls and of strict monogamy, there is considerable freedom between classificatory cross cousins both before and after marriage. In order to avoid gossip and marital jealousy, an affair with a cross cousin is kept secret. One does not often hear of sexual intercourse between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

593 837 Behavior patterns between a man and his wife do not differ greatly from those between cross cousins of opposite sexes. However, occasionally when a man is angry he beats his wife, but he does not beat a female cross cousin who is not his wife. Excessive cruelty toward one's spouse is rare and is talked about in the village. The people of Tokalau talked about a man whom they said had injured his wife's back by beating her. If a man scolds or beats his wife repeatedly she will run to her father's house. Then the people will talk about the husband. If he wants her back he presents a whale's tooth or other property to her relatives. Domestic quarrels and separations are not common. The discovery of adultery on the part of one's spouse usually causes only temporary friction. Fidelity to one's spouse is not really expected.

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The husband is the head of the household and his wife obeys him. Unless a person of higher rank is present, he is served first at meals and receives the best portions of food. A wife often uses the polite term *turanga* (headman) in referring to her husband or her husband's older brother.

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND PARALLEL COUSINS

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Veiwekani is the collective term for brothers and sisters, and parallel cousins of opposite sexes. In contrast to the freedom between cross cousins, a strict avoidance exists between *veiwekani*. They are *veitambui* (tabu). On Kambara intercourse of any sort is tabu between them. They avoid meeting. A man does not enter a house where his sister is except in case of necessity. He does not look at her, but lowers his eyes. If necessary he communicates with her through a third person. A woman is permitted to cook food for her brother, and a man may help to prepare the earth oven in which food for his sister is steamed. Brothers and sisters eat the evening meal with the rest of the household in the same kitchen, but they may not eat from the same plate, nor may one eat what the other has left. They are not allowed to wear each other's kilts, and a woman may not wash her brother's clothes. A man may use mats his sister has made.

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Up to the age of seven or eight brother and sister sleep in the same house, but then avoidance begins and the brother moves into a men's house belonging to his clan or into the house of a relative, while his sister usually remains in the house of the parents. After a boy has been circumcised the tabus are strictly enforced.

A man's father's older brother's daughter is the most tabu and the most respected of all his *weka*. The tabu is usually more strict between first parallel cousins than between brother and sister.

593 [558]

The brother-sister tabu is still upheld on Kambara, although not so strictly as in the past. Today *veiwekani* sometimes converse secretly, but to do so is considered foolish (*lialia*) because the couple loses face in the village. A case of evasion of the brother-sister tabu came to my attention in Tokalau.

A young man, aged 22, of Mbete subclan of the Vuanikathu clan had just started to build a house of his own although he had been married almost two years. He slept with his wife and child in the crowded house of his parents. Four of his sisters—aged 20, 19, 18, and 14—slept in the same house, and he talked to them. His sisters never started a conversation with him, but they answered him. Several times, when the brother and sisters were alone, the questions and answers developed into a conversation. His behavior was criticised but he was somewhat excused because he was considered slightly deficient mentally, for otherwise he would not behave so.

593 184

There is some interisland variation in the brother-sister tabu. On Fulanga it is not so strict as on Kambara. Sexual intercourse, sleeping in the same house, and eating off the same plate are tabu, but eating together is allowed and a girl may eat the food left by a younger brother or by a junior male

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cousin (that is by a male cousin, one of whose parents is a younger sibling of one of her parents). A girl may wash her brother's kilts. Brother and sister may sit in the same house, but when his sister is present a man "talks through a flower", that is, he avoids the usual obscene banter. If a man in the group starts to joke the brother gets up and walks out of the house. If a woman starts to joke the sister leaves immediately. Brother and sister may not take a walk together. They may take a trip on the same canoe, but if there is joking they do not participate. They are ashamed (*mandua*) and lower their eyes, and the girl moves to the other end of the canoe. Brother and sister may talk together but they do so in the polite (*vakarokoroko*) manner. They may address each other by personal name. In general the girl shows greater respect for the boy than he does for her. It is difficult (*ndrendre*) for her to speak to him. Some boys use the familiar second person singular, *ko iko*, to their sisters, but girls always use the formal second person plural, *kemundrau*.

There are also differences in the observation of the tabu by individuals on the same island. On Fulanga one man calls his real sister by her name but not his female parallel cousin. Some individuals "follow the Tongan way" and converse with less restraint.

While in Lau, I heard of only one infringement of the brother-sister incest tabu. This occurred on Moala, according to informants. The man and the woman were imprisoned by the colonial government. Informants agree that in olden days the offenders would have been exiled from the island.

Natives admit their greatest sexual desires to be centered on their tabu sisters and parallel cousins, and they think it is for this reason that the tabu exists. There is no doubt that the tabu heightens sexual interest.

Veitathini is the collective term for brothers, sisters, and parallel cousins. Strict rules of precedence based on seniority are observed between *veitathini*. A man ranks below his elder brother and the son of his father's elder brother. To these relatives he shows respect and deference. He may address them by their personal names but he must use the formal second person plural (*kemundrau*) and speak in the ceremonial manner. Greatest respect is shown to the oldest brother, who is called "first eater" (*kana i manda*). A younger brother is called "eater who follows" (*kana i muri*). Formerly the elder brother ate before the younger brother but today brothers may eat together. The oldest brother sits in a place of honor near the father and receives his food before his brothers. Next to the oldest sits the second brother, then the third, and so on. Younger brothers must clap with palms cupped (*thombo*) to show respect when the oldest finishes drinking kava or eating at a feast. A younger brother is not allowed to eat food left by his elder brother. A younger brother runs errands and secures a brand to light his elder brother's tobacco. After the younger brother has been circumcised it is his duty to prepare food and kava

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for his elder brother. The younger brother is not allowed to take his elder brother's property without permission, or to touch his head. He cannot smoke the cigarette of his elder brother if it has been carried behind his ear according to the local custom. 593 605

Elder sisters and daughters of elder sisters of the mother outrank younger sisters.

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

Veitamani is the collective term for father and child. A child respects and obeys his father and his father's brothers and he honors his *tama levu* most. He treats these relatives in the ceremonial fashion. On Kambara, a high ranking father and his elder brother are called sir (*ratu*) by the children. Another polite form of address is *tumbutumbu* (ancestor) preceded by a possessive pronoun. On Fulanga the father is addressed by the kinship term *tama*, the father's older brother by *tama levu*. It is forbidden to address the father by the familiar second person singular, *ko iko*. Young children often call their father *tata*. The father or the senior paternal uncle sits in the place of honor at the evening meal or at a feast. He receives the first portion of food. The children may eat with him but they may not eat the food he leaves. Father and children may sit and talk together. Children may use their father's or paternal uncle's property without asking, with the exception of his clothes, mats, pillow, or comb. 593 601

Hatred between father and grown son (expressed by the term *thathaveitamani*) is said to be usual and to be based on jealousy. The sons say, "My father does not like me because I am still young and strong", or "My father does not like me because the women like me better than they like him. He is afraid that I have or shall have more social prestige than he has or ever has had", or "My father is very glad when I have bad luck. If I have good luck he pretends to be glad to other people but in reality he is always envious." Most boys claim their fathers are never proud of them. On the other hand, if the son has bad luck (no success), the father feels ashamed. The sons say, "Because of their attitude we do not like our fathers and are glad when they have bad luck." 593

Veitchinani is the collective term for mother and child. There are no tabus between a child and his mother or maternal aunt. He may take her property, sleep on her mats, and eat her left over food. A daughter may cook her mother's food and wash her clothes. The mother is called *nana* by a young child and *tchina* by an older one. The polite forms of address are *nau* (used only to wives of chiefs) and *tumbutumbu marama* (ancestor lady) preceded by a possessive. According to the natives, the mother is not respected by the children because she belongs to a different clan. [601] [574]

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871 the missionaries and elaborated by the colonial government in Fiji will be discussed in Chapter VII. From infancy children attend the village mission church on Sundays. The influence of the missionaries in Lau will be discussed in Chapter V.

842 The ideal in Lau is to produce many offspring, for in the 593 child lies the future of the clan. He is still regarded as the contemporary link in the long human chain connecting the ancestor gods with the unborn. The first child receives particular attention, especially the first born of the highest ranking family in a clan. Even today he is considered the living representative of the clan ancestor gods, and the temporary repository of the clan "mana" or creative power. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him, and his conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring. Although both parents cooperate in child bearing and rearing, these functions are regarded by the Lauans as a woman's main sphere in life, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of the first child.

842 The Lauans know that conception is the result of sexual intercourse but the general opinion is that it does not occur unless a couple have connection repeatedly. Only one informant, an old woman, said that conception might take place as the result of one union. It is believed that if a woman has intercourse with several men she will not become pregnant.

843 When a woman knows she is with child, which she determines by cessation of menstruation and the swelling of the breasts, she tells her husband. He is immediately concerned with the problem of finding her some special food, for pregnant women have a craving (known as *lalau*) for raw fruit, sweets, greens, and shellfish. To satisfy this craving a woman will gather shellfish alone (after the fourth month, 843 since before this time fishing is tabu to her), build a small 571 fire, roast them, and eat them by herself. Inasmuch as the

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852 431 602 [854] mother's clans. The property is divided between the relatives, and the child's parents receive no share. On this day[1] the child is bathed in the sea for the first time.

539 ## CHILDHOOD ON KAMBARA

Mothe, mothe, ko yandra, yandra,
Vuka mai na lupe ni wasa,
Ke lupe ndina, ke mothe manda-e.

Sleep, sleep, and wake, wake,
The dove of the waves comes flying.
If he is a true dove he will sleep-e.

Lauan lullaby.

854 593 For the first year the mother and child live in a predominately feminine world. Since the father's work takes him to the gardens, the bush and the reef during the day, and to the earth oven in the late afternoon, and since he sleeps in another house at night, he sees the mother and child only at the evening meal and occasionally during the day. Throughout the nursing period, which lasts about one year, the father's chief rôle in the cooperative enterprise of parenthood is the provision of food. He takes little part in the baby's life until the child is old enough to run. If the father does pick the child up he carries him in his arms or on his back, never in a sling, which is used only by women. One is more likely to see the grandfather than the father with the infant on his lap. The father, however, is proud of the child, especially if he is the first born.

854 462 [162] During the nursing period the mother has practically nothing to do except care for and play with the infant. She is relieved of her usual tasks, such as fishing, gathering greens, and tending the kitchen fires, by the other women and girls of her sub-clan. Since the females outnumber the males there are always hands to do the comparatively small amount of work that falls to the women. Unmarried girls fish and gather greens and firewood for the kitchen. They also grate and strain coconut for coconut cream. Older women, with

[1] [i.e., the first child's first birthday.—Analyst]

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both of whom lived in the house next to his paternal grandparents.

Soon the child recognizes in his father the most important person in the household. He is a little afraid of him and begins to respect him. He learns not to touch or take anything pertaining to the person of his father—his mat, pillow, comb, or *lavalava*. He knows that if he, his brothers and sisters, or his mother disobey his father they will be scolded, perhaps whipped. At the same time he admires his father and is delighted by any attention from him. He calls him by the pet name, *tata*. His father does not play with him often, but occasionally he takes the child on his back to attend a meeting or to visit a neighbor.

Up to this time there has been little or no distinction between a boy and a girl. Both have been equally welcomed into the community, feted, nursed, and petted. Now a sex distinction becomes apparent. As the little boy grows older he is more frequently seen in the company of his father than is his sister. Occasionally he is taken on his father's back to the garden, while the little girl remains in the village with the women. Within the father-child relationship pattern there is considerable individual variation. Some fathers show a great deal of affection toward their children. The headman of Undu village played with his small offspring of both sexes often, and was rarely seen about the village without one or two babies on his back or on his lap. Some fathers are very much attached to their first born sons. The jealous antagonism, which later becomes marked between father and grown son, is not apparent when the boy is a child. The child treats his uncles in much the same way as he treats his father. His "big" fathers (the father's older brother and the mother's older brother) are honored more than the rest.

The child's attitude of increasing respect toward his father contrasts with his attitude of familiarity toward his mother. Although no longer physically dependent upon her, he con-

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593 854 562 tinues to play with her and with her personal property. His mother's subordinate position to her husband and the adult males in the household reinforces this behavior pattern, as does also the general status of women in the community. The mother continues to be lenient toward him unless she is in a bad mood, when she is likely to fly into a rage at a trifle.

855 603 593 One day while talking to Kama in my house at Tokalau, we were interrupted by the screams of his three-year-old granddaughter. Pursued by Lute, her mother, who carried a stick, the terrified child was running in the direction of my house. Lute, six months pregnant, was walking with a determined stride and gaining ground. Kama called to his granddaughter to come to him but not hearing him, she turned and ran around the next house. He left my house, and, calling the child by name, walked toward the pair who had now rounded the house and were again approaching. This time the child noticed him and ran to him. When Lute caught up with them Kama calmly and resolutely raised his hand and slapped Lute's face. She turned and walked away and he, comforting the child, brought her back with him to my house.

855 On another occasion I heard the screams of a child issuing from a neighboring kitchen house. A woman in a tantrum was whipping a child with a stick. She stopped until his screams abated, then whipped him again. This was repeated with morbid viciousness three or four times until a relative snatched the child away.

However, a child is not whipped often. If he takes forbidden property or fails to show respect where it is due he is scolded or slapped. If he is bubbling his lips the mother will [863] remove his hand or slap him for it. He is not allowed to defecate in the house, but if he does so on the house platform or in front of the house, he is usually ignored. Gradually he learns to go to the beach or the bush. Infants sleep on baby mats, which are washed and sunned rather frequently. One

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When the child reaches the age of about seven his personality 856
is set. The natives say he has "come to his mind." This 593
step in his growth is recognized and marked by the end of the unconstrained association of the sexes, and by the enforcement of the brother-sister tabu.

In Lau, cousins are divided into two categories: parallel 602
cousins and cross cousins. Parallel cousins include those 601
cousins related through one's father and belonging to one's 835
own clan (since clans in Lau are patrilineal). They are classed as one's brothers and sisters. Cross cousins include those related through one's mother and belonging to one's mother's clan. Marriage of a man with his cross cousin, that is the daughter of his mother's brother, or the daughter of [582]
his father's sister, is preferred, and he may joke and have sexual intercourse with his female relatives in this category; but marriage with his parallel cousins is tabu, and sexual intercourse with this group as well as with his sister is regarded as incest. To avoid incest, a boy is not allowed to speak to his sister or female parallel cousin and *vice versa* after the age of seven or eight. This is called the brother-sister tabu. Usually before the age of ten or eleven a boy begins to sleep in a men's house belonging to one of his relatives, while his sister remains in the house with her parents until she is married.

Never after the age of seven or eight do the sexes mingle 856
freely. By this time the child has become definitely sex conscious and is aware of the differences between the rôles of men and women in his community. He has witnessed the sex life of adults and adolescents around him, and has seen the pains of birth and death.